1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
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with ease in the same gathering with their maternal uncles, but not with their paternal uncles. The relations between paternal and maternal cousins fall in the same line with that of the father's or mother's side.

One of the most salient features that underlies the structural relationships is that although the fabric forming the ideological basis for the social structure is entirely patrilineal as far as descent, inheritance, and prestige are concerned, yet it is dyed in a sentimental and emotional colouring which is preponderantly matrilineal. Towards the close matrilineal kin, the relations are certainly not weaker than towards the close patrilineal kin; they are of a different kind. If the relation of the 'ego' towards the patrilineal side is one of apprehension and alertness, and businesslike, as it were, the relation to the affinal side is one of affection, ease and jesting. It is not unusual for a sister who asks her brother for help to address him as 'Son of my mother' as a means of enlisting his sympathy; or for a brother, on going to visit his sister, to say 'I am going to see "my mother's daughter" '. Some men, whose mothers are of forceful character or whose fathers were married to other wives, are publicly called by their first names followed by their mother's first names. A man or a woman relates himself or herself always to the mother in situations of charm-writing, of incantations to ward off the evil eye or in similar magic rituals. In invoking God's help, women relate the person for whom they are praying to his mother, as this is considered the most genuine and moving way of appealing to God. This could be regarded as further evidence for the emphasis on the matrilineal sentiment in the social structure. In the case of a man or a woman referred directly to his or her mother, this could also be regarded as a functionally convenient way of distinguishing between him or her and the paternal half-brothers or half-sisters. The reference to the matrilineal origin in a polygamous patrilineal society seems to be a device used to distinguish between agnates.[1] Moreover, what Firth has written about the role of the mother's brother in a segmentary system of patrilineal type, applies to Silwa community. In this village, the khal or khala, or the maternal side in general, provides certain compensatory social functions to those provided by the father and the paternal side. The former side provides, as Firth put it, 'a locus of attachment and refuge for the children of the women by contrast with the demands laid upon them by their father's group'. Again, the recognition of the mother's brother's group as one of special interest provides a channel for large-scale social communication and reciprocity between it and the father's group.[2] The same applies to the recognition of in-law relationship.[3]

Such relations and norms governing the relationship between the family

[1] E. L. Peters in his review of Hilma Granqvist, 'Child Problems among the Arabs' in *Man*, Vol. LI, September 1951, p. 126.

[2] Raymond Firth in his review of M. Fortes, 'The Web of Kinship' in *Africa*, Vol. XXI, April, 1951, p. 139.

[3] For kinship terms in Silwa, see Appendix IV, 'A Note on Kinship Terms'.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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potential friction in the new situation; and to the extent they are in harmony he can be secure in his new status. Many marriages actually break down because of the friction between parents, sisters or brothers, and wife or mother-in-law. This seems to be a common feature of patriarchal societies where the main emphasis is not on marriage as such, but on its wider social implications, being an institution relating two families and whose foundation is not 'romantic love' but having children.[1]

Such instances, and many others, show the delicacy of the relations in the kinship pattern. It is worth noticing that such delicacy is more on the paternal than the maternal side where the scope or the manifestations of tension are not so wide or numerous. Although such friction amongst kin is a valid element in their behaviour towards each other, it cannot obviate certain corporate structural symbols of social behaviour. If, for instance, a man is attacked or publicly insulted, his brother or cousin must stand with him in spite of whatever conflicts are hitherto outstanding. If an uncle dies, his cousins must attend the burial ceremony and 'passionately' mourn him. Gifts and money must be exchanged on occasions such as circumcision and wedding irrespective of the nature of personal relationship. Absence from the village is not an excuse for not performing one's obligations. Villagers in towns or cities have to mourn publicly their deceased in cafés or other places where others from Silwa, residing there, come to condole with them. On their return to the village they must perform the mourning rituals for close kin by weeping on their way from the station to the house, or if the deceased is a distant relative, by visiting his people, in spite of the lapse of time. On the whole, severing personal relationship for any reason does not necessarily mean ignoring one's corporate relationships by forfeiting any of the rights or shirking any of the duties.

Cutting across these bilateral kinship ties is a flow of inter-personal relationships which are not caught up in corporate bonds. This is what Professor Fortes designates as ties of 'cognatic kinship'. Cognatic ties are in contradistinction to agnatic ties, which primarily stress the corporate duties and rights and the solidarity of the social groupings, at the expense of the individual's private interests. Cognatic ties both within and across the kinship system differ from the agnatic in one important respect. In Fortes' words: 'They are ties of amity and mutual interest between individuals. Private rights and duties and personal loyalties prevail as against corporate rights. They represent the recognition that the direct social bonds of individual with individual are as vital for the wellbeing of the society as the fixed framework of corporate groupings. This sense of interdependence of men as individuals in the hard struggle of ordinary living, not only transcends the more rigid solidarities of the family, lineage . . .

[1] See Talcott Parsons, 'The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States', in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLV, 1943.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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×539 [301] If thou couldst see the rings,
As they sparkle in my ear,
Thou mightest carry the basket,
Without being open to blame!

[582] [605] 1. As marriage between cousins is regarded as the most natural thing (compare No. 87), hence ibnē 'ammi = "cousin" (masc.) and bintē 'ammi = "cousin" (fem.) are quite common expressions for "dearest". Married couples often speak thus of one another, even though they may not be related.

4. Compare No. 110, l. a.

[186] 5. The Jews are the most despised of all unbelievers and even more hated than the Christians.

7. They are not plainly visible until the veil is removed.

[461] [857] [681] 9. "Thou mightest carry the basket", namely: of debris from the excavations, which work belongs to the boys. At our work, it was always fun for the boys, when one of the men, as a punishment, was obliged to take a basket and carry debris in it. Then scornful and contemptuous remarks were rained upon him.